

JUL 21 1920 SH

THE CANADIAN RAILROADER

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A TARIFF BOARD ANSWER FROM
THE FARMERS

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE
LABOR MOVEMENT

OFFICIAL ORGAN,
FIFTH SUNDAY
MEETING ASSOCIATION
OF CANADA

MONTREAL, JULY 17th, 1920

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Our London Letter

(From our Own Correspondent)

Miners Definitely Decided To Press For Wages.

London, July 10th.

British miners, in view of the increases of \$2.50 per ton on the price of domestic coal, and \$1.00 on industrial, have now definitely decided to press for an advance in wages if the government will not reduce the above rates.

The decision was taken yesterday at a national delegate conference held in London. The official report of the proceedings conducted in camera was:

"This conference instructs the executive to examine fully the data relating to the finance of the industry which is about to be published by the Government, and also instructs the committee to formulate demands for an advance of wages, the amount to be decided by the annual conference which commences on July 6th."

Another question which came before the Conference related to Ireland, and it was resolved to protest against the British military domination of Ireland, and condemn

the ruthless attack upon the liberties and independence of the Irish people.

It was decided to demand the immediate withdrawal of troops from Ireland and to urge the Parliamentary Committee to expedite the calling of a special Trade Union Congress, in order that organized Labor may determine its attitude towards the production and handling of munitions of war destined for Ireland and Poland."

There were two matters at this conference which specially call for more than passing reference. The first is that the fixture saw the return after months of illness of Robert Smillie, the miners' president and one of the biggest figures in British Labor. Smillie had a rousing reception when he entered the conference room and the need of his experience and counsel was certainly never more felt. The Government is proposing to set up a Mines Department, the details regarding which scheme will need very careful watching if the industry is not to be run as badly or even more badly than heretofore. Smillie stands absolutely for nationalization, and it will be instructive to see what attitude he adopts towards a measure which the miners look upon at best as a mere palliative.

Again there is the possibility of division in the federation to be stamped out. South Wales is taking a ballot on the question of whether the contributions shall be doubled and has talked of secession. I was never much afraid that the Welshmen would take the risk of setting up on their own account, and now that Smillie is back the danger of a split is less than ever.

The other matter—munitions for Ireland and Poland—affects railwaymen as much as miners, and rather more. With details of what is happening over in Ireland I need not weary "Railroader" readers. Sufficient to say the National Union of Railwaymen is faced with the problem of what to do with certain Irish branches who are refusing to handle munitions sent over there from this country. J. H. Thomas led a deputation to the Premier the other day and was told the Government intended to uphold order by force of arms, and Thomas has suffered the hot water treatment for saying at a London railwaymen's meeting that he would not be a party to the murder of soldiers and police who were doing their duty. J. H. Thomas has plenty of courage and so he has called an all-Ireland conference of railwaymen for next

week, at which he and the executive will be present to thrash out the whole matter.

This munitions' question is a bone of contention, too, in the matter of Poland. There is a strong feeling that Britain ought not to assist Poland against Bolshevik Russia by as much as an ounce of gunpowder, and the Hands Off Russia Committee, which is an offshoot of the British Socialist Party went so far as to issue a circular urging a national strike. The Transport Workers' Federation took this to mean an interference by a non-trade union body in what was a strictly trade union affair, although it must be conceded that the circular was signed by several prominent trade union men. The transport workers told the B. S. P. in effect to keep off the grass and mind its own business.

Over the same business the N. U. R. has come in for a good deal of criticism. First the union instructed members not to handle munitions destined for Poland and afterwards countermanded the order, having found that some members were not obeying it and that the alternative might be a strike. The N. U. R. wants no strike for such a purpose. It may need all its industrial strength to defend its wages position, whereas some of the ever captious ones have assumed the role of candid friend and thrown a few particularly heavy bricks. But the N. U. R. is quite able to stand up for itself and has done so with pretty good effect. The whole question, Ireland and Poland included, is likely to be submitted to a special trade union congress.

The results of recent bye-elections have led some people to believe that the progress of the Labor Party has been checked. This is a mistake. Analysis of the whole series of bye-elections shows that Labor in these contests more than doubled its General Election poll. There have been 30 bye-elections. Labor fought 25 of them. Its total vote in these contests was 237,119; as compared with 101,303 (in 16 contests) at the General Election.

On the other hand the Coalition poll in the bye-elections shows a positive decline compared with the figures of the General Election. The Unionists polled in December a total of 187,802 votes in the constituencies, as compared with 183,222 in the bye-elections. Coalition-Liberal candidates polled 110,534 in December, and 110,706 in the bye-elections; a decline in the Coalition vote of 4,406. The Independent Liberals contested eleven of these 30 seats at the General Election, and nineteen in the bye-elections. Their general Election vote was 53,884, and their bye-election total 120,267 votes. Which is to say that the Independents have not done half as well as Labor in the bye-elections having increased their vote by only 66,383 votes as against an increase of 135,816 in the bye-election vote of the Labor Party.

Ethelbert Pogson.

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A Tariff Board Answer from The Farmers

(By GEORGE PIERCE)

It is a pleasure to reproduce an editorial which appeared in the Grain Grower's Guide on Wednesday, June 16th, entitled "A Demand For Autocracy," as it will give readers a chance to compare "The Railroader's" views in favor of a permanent Tariff Board with that of the farmers who are opposed to it.

With permission, there is also published a letter from Mr. M. P. Lambert, Secretary of the Canadian Council of Agriculture. Both are official; therefore the Railroader is in a position to gain valuable information on the peculiar attitude of the farmers by analyzing the editorial and the letter.

In the editorial the charge is made that the Canadian Manufacturers' Association was not in favor of the appointment of a commission of enquiry which was to have travelled about the country to determine local views on the tariff question. Personally, I am not in favor of such a commission of enquiry, because it is only a substitute and a subterfuge. The witnesses before such a commission will geographically reflect local tariff views, with no regard whatsoever for the entire commercial fabric affected by the tariff. "Red" areas will be opposed to any sort of regulation along scientific lines because "red" organization flourishes just in proportion as disorganization and chaos grow. The agricultural areas will offer free trade arguments under the lure of cheaper things that are used on the farm. Betwixt and between there would be the moderates who would lean toward the views sure to be presented in the manufacturing districts, where the welfare of industry would be of first importance. The grand result would be a vast medley of unscientific arguments on tariff which could never be practically applied. As between the east and the west, the extremists would simply advance the arguments which have filled the political arenas with flying debris for generations. A flying commission of this sort recently undertook to solve the industrial unrest by such methods. The results were nil. The great mass of opinions in different districts merely accentuated the state of flux in which the industrial world was heaving. The travelling commission might determine how districts might vote on the issue, but it could never fill the shoes of scientific, trained economists who would make a real investigation of the tariff as applied to the needs of all the people of the Dominion whether agricultural or industrial. The difficulty is not to view the tariff from a western or an eastern viewpoint, but from a central viewpoint, so as to determine its relation to the welfare of all the people. This was probably the reason why the Canadian Manufacturers Association

opposed the idea of a travelling commission of enquiry.

Then comes the interesting statement: "The final decision as to the nature, number and amount of the taxes to be levied rests with the elected representatives of the people in parliament, of whom the Government are to be the executive board. Any tariff, whether it be high or low, protective or nonprotective in principle, is primarily a fiscal instrument, a measure of taxation. Were parliament to abandon direct control of, and responsibility for, a single item in tariff, it would in that degree abdicate its authority and be recreant to its responsibility and its reason for existence."

You may have observed that the proposed Board is described as an advisory Tariff Board. The word is used because it is proposed that the Board shall merely advise with the Government, furnish the data, and that the Government itself may then either modify, reject or approve of the advice given by the Board. Will the Grain Growers Guide or any other official of the farmers movement explain in what way, under such circumstances, would the Board usurp the powers of Government?

There is a confusion of thought in the paragraph which follows the one which I have just quoted. The editorial states that the Manufacturers Association does not desire a Board which will merely consult and advise or carry out the instructions framed by the Government and the Grain Growers Guide seeks to prove this contention in the following language: "The C. M. A. circular is careful to explain that an investigation by Cabinet Ministers promised last year seems especially inadvisable because such investigation cannot possibly take cognizance of such important factors as the difference in labor and other costs of production in competing with foreign countries, origin and cost of raw material, specific ad valorem duties, preferential tariff within the empire, and bargaining features of the tariff of other nations." Here you have a confusion of subjects. The facts are that the Manufacturers Association did oppose the appointment of a travelling, temporary board of enquiry, while it had strongly advocated a permanent, scientific advisory Board. The reasons given by the Grain Growers Guide would make it appear that the Manufacturers Association was opposed to the establishment of the permanent board on the grounds advanced for opposition to a temporary board, and yet our farmer friends lay such stress on candor and fair dealing and deep sincerity.

To cap the climax, here is the last sentence which furnishes fur-

ther evidence of an irreproachable sincerity: "Any insertion of the word 'advisory' in connection with the Tariff Board they demand, is regarded by them as a camouflage; that the membership of the Board should, of course, be determined chiefly by them is a matter of fundamental principle firmly established in their reactionary minds." How at variance with the facts is this statement! To begin with, it has been persistently advocated that this Board should be detached from politics, not that the Board can be taken out of politics, but that politics can be taken out of the Board, as has been done in the United States.

It was to be a scientific Board, that is to say, that practical heads were to have been qualified by long training and experience in economic matters, men of the type of Professor Dale, formerly of McGill University, and now of the University of Toronto, with scientific assistants advised by representatives of the farmer, labor and the manufacturing groups.

Will the Grain Growers Guide explain how this conforms to their idea of autocracy?

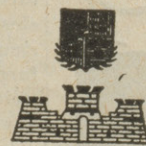
I may now properly return to a consideration of Mr. Lambert's letter. In answer to the arguments contained in the third paragraph, it is of no importance that I have been the author of certain papers on the tariff issue. The mere fact that I have been writing such articles is no reason why the Grain Growers Guide should reply to them. But when sixteen hundred organizations and hundreds of thousands of trades unionists sign resolutions advocating a permanent Tariff Board against the expressed opposition of the farmer movement, then it becomes highly advisable for the Grain Growers Guide to discuss such a unique and important development. It was the silence of the farmer press with relation to this extraordinary movement of the trades unionists which provoked wonderment and speculation.

When the records were delved into, it was found that the American farmers, one million strong, had clamored for a permanent Tariff Board.

After years of experience with the operations of this institution, they are still ardently supporting it. The Railroader asked the Canadian farmers' organizations to account for a position which was diametrically opposed to that taken by the farmers in the States. The actions of a million people are important, there was no dealing with trifles, yet neither the Grain Growers Guide nor the Canadian Council of Agriculture paid the slightest attention to such queries. Again speculation was forced as to the basic reasons underlying the silence of the official farmer organizations. Reasons were asked for very frankly. To this day no answer has been received. I honestly do not know how to account for the farmer attitude, and I believe that the best way to gain the information was to ask the farmer headquarters for it. After reading the editorial and the letter you will find that everybody is as much as ever in the dark.

In reference to the article "Spiking The Guns", permit me to say that I am not the patentee of that phrase. A gentleman, intimately known to the officials of the farmer movement and a strong supporter himself, visited the offices of the Canadian Railroader. In search for light, I asked him to account for the opposition of the farmers to a permanent Tariff Board. I requested that he give specific objections. In the argument that developed, no sound reasons for objection to the Board were forthcoming, and then, in the presence of witnesses, the statement was made just as I printed it: "We do not intend to have our guns spiked at the eleventh hour." I was so dumb-founded that I caused the statement to be repeated three times. I do not mean to hold the farmer movement for the statement of this estimable gentleman, but knowing of his close association with the farmer leaders, and in view of the fact that I could not get any information from headquarters, I printed the results of this conversation exactly as it had occurred. I have not in any way indicted the sincerity of the farmer movement, but if they chose to put

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this construction upon this conversation I should be very sorry.

In the fourth paragraph, the letter states that what they want is tariff reduction, not tariff commission. Our reply is that if there is to be tariff reduction, it should be based upon scientific investigation by a permanent Tariff Board. Where it is found that the duties are too high, they may be scientifically reduced. Only trained economists and students of worldwide conditions are in a position to render judgement on such important questions.

In the next paragraph, the letter states that in the farmers' platform called "The New National Policy", there are specific reforms demanded and that until they are met "There will be no room whatsoever for the discussion of the question of a Tariff Board." The answer is, that each party in the political field has a definite tariff programme. If the demands of each needed to be granted before the appointment of a Tariff Board could occur, then pray tell us what would be the use for a Board. The object of a permanent advisory Tariff Board is to study the grievances of all people on the question of tariff as applied to each industry. Where the tariff is excessive, the Board could recommend reduction. Where the tariff is insufficient to enable the young industry to grow, the tariff may be increased, but by all means let the recommendation follow scientific investigation and not be the offspring of the changing political fortunes of any party.

The statement in the sixth paragraph that the introduction of the tariff is beside the mark will not find much weight with Railroader readers. Everyone knows that the world is in a tremendous state of flux at this very time. Changing labor conditions, varying costs of materials, new markets and the general upheaval following the war, call for a flexible, highly scientific adjustment of tariffs attuned to tumultuous conditions. There is no time like the present for the institution of a permanent Board. In this paragraph, the writer again

confuses the temporary Board of enquiry with a permanent scientific Board. Trade unionists are as much opposed to the temporary Board as the farmers appear to be. There have been Boards of enquiry, but there has never been a permanent scientific advisory Board. There is a great difference between these two propositions which the writer of the letter does not seem to recognize. I quite agree that temporary Boards will accomplish nothing, but anyone who is informed must admit that the permanent Board in the United States has accomplished marvellous results. The detail of its work has been printed in the Railroader.

In reply to the statement contained in paragraph seven, permit me to reiterate for the hundredth time, first, that it was never proposed to take the tariff out of politics. The desire was to take politics out of the tariff. Secondly, that such a Board will not reflect the viewpoint of the Government in power because the Americans have proven that they were able to appoint a Board of scientific men who were absolutely immune from political interference. We in Canada have faith in the independence of the judiciary. If we indict the judiciary with the charge of political subservience we admit anarchy. We all agree that the great body of men forming the judiciary of Canada is independent, and then we proceed to charge that five men cannot be found in the whole of the Dominion whose opinions would not be swayed by political considerations. The theory is doubly interesting when it is remembered that labor advocated that the farmers should have a representative of their own choosing on such a Board. As to the writer's allusion concerning racial and religious controversies, charging that they are interlocked with economic problems, I submit that this is the strongest argument why our fiscal policy should be determined by non-religious, nonracial, nonpartisan scientific men whose only attitude would be the good of all the people of the Dominion, just as a doctor attends a patient, irrespective of the political or the religious leanings of the person in his care.

In the last paragraph and the last sentence of that paragraph, I am of the opinion that Mr. Lambert has thrown a boomerang which is rather likely to land uncomfortably close to his own position. In referring to the adjustments which the farmers demand on the tariff, the writer says: "Those demands will have to be faced squarely and not side-tracked into the obscurity of an irrelevant discussion of an advisory Tariff Board." The word "obscurity" and the words "irrelevant discussion" have a singular significance to me. If I were side-tracking the issue it would be perfectly proper to charge me with insincerity, the same kind of insincerity which Mr. Lambert fancies that I am charging against the farmer. Side-tracking the issue into obscurity by irrelevant discussion after

hundreds of thousands of trade unionists have openly demanded it and surcharged the air with propaganda, while six thousand manufacturers "Irrelevantly discussed the advisory Tariff Board", and finally adopted the principle, obscuring the action by publishing the fact in every newspaper in Canada, should convince even the most optimistic farmer officials that there will be considerable opposition to the idea expressed in the last sentence of the last paragraph of this highly interesting letter written by Mr. Lambert, the Secretary of the Canadian Council of Agriculture and the opposition will be no keen and its success will be so astonishing, because it develops more each and every day, that neither the Farmers Movement, The Grain Growers Guide nor the individual officials of the Farmers Movement can produce a single logical scientific argument in opposition to the scientific advisory Board. Any party seeking to capture the vote of the Canadian people in a federal election will need to answer the arguments of an inquisitive public, and this the Farmer Movement has either been unable or unwilling to do.

I thank Mr. Lambert for his letter, expressing regret that on the principal arguments there is much silence and no light.

LETTER FROM MR. LAMBERT

Canadian Council of Agriculture.
613 Boyd Building, Winnipeg

June 25, 1920.

Mr. J. A. Woodward,
316 Lagauchetière St. W.,
Montreal, Que.

Dear Sir:—

I have your letter of June 21, referring to the question of an Advisory Tariff Board, and the attitude of the organized farmers towards such an institution.

I note what you say about having watched the farmers' publications for some reply to the articles which have been published in the "Canadian Railroader". I am not in a position to speak for the farmers' publications, but I do know that there have been numerous editorials expressed in the "Grain Growers' Guide" within the past six months, opposing the idea of a Tariff Board. I cannot recall just now whether or not any of these editorials in the "Grain Growers' Guide" was directly based upon statements made in the "Canadian Railroader". I am enclosing, however, the latest editorial expressed from the "Grain Growers' Guide", bearing upon the proposed establishment of a permanent Tariff Commission.

Because none of the leaders of the Farmers' Organizations has entered into a debate with the "Canadian Railroader" upon the desirability of establishing an Advisory Tariff



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Board in Canada, I do not think that anyone can safely take the position that the farmers have no genuine point of view in this matter. I for instance, have read the articles of George Pierce, and as one with some journalistic experience can say frankly that the spirit and tone of Mr. Pierce's articles do not merit the courtesy of a reply from me or any other official in the Farmers' Movement. His article in the "Canadian Railroader" of June 5, entitled "Spiking the Guns" is anything but a fair statement of the case. I cannot imagine any spokesman for the Farmers' Movement who has been genuinely in touch with the expressed view of the farmers during the past ten years, making the statements which Mr. Pierce quotes in his article. He does not give the rank and file of the leaders in the Farmers' Movement credit for having sincere convictions upon the Tariff issue. Personally, I can give credit to yourself and others connected with the "Canadian Railroader" for sincerity of motive in your advocacy of an Advisory Tariff Board; I should expect credit for a similar sincerity of purpose in my opposition to it.

For ten years, the Farmers' Organizations, — and I speak here particularly of the prairie provinces, — year after year in annual Convention, have taken the position that what they want is tariff reduction not tariff commission.

The views of the organized farmers, who, after all, represent the majority opinion in this western country, have all thought this thing out as a result of bitter experience as well as having studied the subject a little further afield. Our views on the tariff have been formulated in the Farmers' Platform, now called the "New National Policy." The demands for fiscal reforms in that Platform are specific not general, and until they are met, there will be no room whatever for a discussion of the question of a Tariff Board. The farmers of this country know what they want in this matter in order that both the country and themselves shall be benefited.

The introduction of the issue of a Tariff Board at the present juncture is beside the mark, not to mention the fact that we have had at least two Tariff Commissions at work in this country during the past thirty years which accomplished nothing. A permanent Tariff Board at the present time would not succeed in giving Parliament any better information than it has in its possession or can easily obtain. There is a proper time for everything, and the introduction of the issue concerning a permanent Tariff Board for Canada is not opportune at the present time.

I will not attempt to use the arguments which are often advanced against Commissions, namely, that they simply reflect the viewpoint of the Government in power, but I should simply like to point out that

whenever the tariff controversy has become particularly acute, that element in the country which has been most uncompromising in its opposition to any tariff reduction, has always produced the timeworn proposal of a Board of experts which would take the tariff out of politics. The tariff has had such a great deal to do with keeping politics at such a low level in Canada, that it has been impossible up till now to have a general election contested on the merits of economic issues. Instead, we have had for forty years the pitiful spectacle of general elections being promoted on the strength of racial and religious prejudices with a jingoistic flagwaving crowd in the background. When the people of this country have succeeded in raising the level of their federal politics to the point where they can think about and discuss such economic problems as those contained in the tariff issue without trying to set the French Canadian Catholics of Quebec against the Tory Orangemen of Ontario, and vice versa, we shall have then reached a point where we might possibly consider your recommendation for a permanent Tariff Board with seriousness. In the meantime, the organized farmers, supported by a large number of other people in the Canadian electorate, demand certain specific adjustments in the tariff. Those demands will have to be faced squarely and not side-tracked into the obscurity of an irrelevant discussion upon an Advisory Tariff Board.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) N. P. Lambert,
Secretary.

P.S.—So far as I am concerned, you are quite free to publish this letter in the "Canadian Railroader."

A DEMAND FOR AUTOCRACY (Editorial in Grain Growers' Guide, June 10.)

On the opening day of the forty-ninth annual convention of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, which was held last week, in Vancouver, the retiring president, T. P. Howard, in making the customary presidential review of the year, took occasion to define once more the position held by the Association in regard to the tariff. The Canadian Press despatch published in all the newspapers thus reported his declaration of the Association's policy:

Coming to the question of the tariff he recalled that the position of the association was clearly defined at the last annual meeting by the resolution advocating a revision of the tariff and the establishment of a permanent board of experts who would act in an advisory capacity to the government. He did not see any reason why those resolutions should not be re-affirmed. The association, he said, had also gone strongly on record in favor of tariff preference among the various countries constituting the British Empire.

The war strengthened the ties which bind the Empire together, and we believe these ties would be further strengthened by the extension of the Imperial preferential tariffs.

The Canadian Press Despatch states that "President Howard's address was enthusiastically received," and goes on to say that on its conclusion the well-known S. R. Parsons, of Toronto, a former president of the Association, in moving the vote of thanks to Mr. Howard, characterized his address as "based on sound experience and common sense."

The Action of the Manufacturers' Association last year, to which Mr. Howard referred, is fresh in the public memory. It stands strikingly on record in the circular issued by the executive board of the Association and addressed to boards of trade and other bodies, setting forth the Association's position in demanding from the Dominion Government a permanent board of tariff experts to handle the tariff, instead of having an enquiry made by a committee of the Cabinet into the nature and scope of any tariff changes that might be judged desirable. Such an inquiry, to be begun at the close of the session, had been promised by the Finance Minister, Sir Thomas White, speaking for the Government, in his budget speech a year ago.

In the circular which has just been mentioned, it was stated that the idea of having such an inquiry was regarded by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association as "especially inadvisable", because Cabinet Ministers cannot possibly "take cognizance" (from the point of view of the C.M.A., of course) "of certain important aspects of the tariff". The enquiry was not held; the promise made in Parliament by the Government was not fulfilled. The thing that the Canadian Manufacturers' Association did not want done was not done.

What the Government had promised to do was, of course, completely and entirely in accord with the principle of representative government. The course proposed by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association is in violation of that principle. Fiscal policy is the most important thing with which Parliament has to deal. The final decisions as to the nature, number and amount of the taxes to be levied rests with the elected representatives of the people in Parliament, of whom the Government are the Executive board. Any tariff, whether it be high or low, protective or unprotective or non-protective in principle, is primarily a fiscal instrument, a measure of taxation. Were Parliament to abandon direct control of, and responsibility for, a single item in tariff, it would in that degree abdicate its authority and be recreant to its responsibility and its reason for existence. Control of "supply" is its absolute prerogative, by which it can defend and safeguard the constitutional rights and liberties of the people.

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It is perfectly right and proper, of course, that Parliament and the Government should seek information from, and consider duly the views of any citizen, expert or otherwise, in regard to any proposals of fiscal policy, and ways and means of raising the necessary public revenue. But this is not the demand of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. The circular already referred to does not ask for a body which shall advise the Government, or for a commission charged with carrying out instructions framed by the Government, on lines decided upon by the House of Commons. The C.M.A. circular is careful to explain that the investigation by Cabinet Ministers promised last year "seems especially inadvisable, because such investigation cannot possibly take cognizance of such important factors as difference in labor and other costs of production in competing with foreign countries, origin and cost of raw material, specific and ad valorem duties, preferential tariff within the Empire, and bargaining features of the tariffs of all great trading nations."

After all that has happened politically and economically in the world of recent years the fact that such views can still be advanced seriously shows how exceedingly Bourbon-like the dominating element in the Canadian Manufacturers' Association continues to be. There are members in the Association who do not regard the Association as holding within its membership all the knowledge and understanding and patriotism in Canada. But they are swallowed up in the bulk of the members who, year after year, have proclaimed the Association to be the sole and absolute repository of fiscal wisdom, no other body of Canadians being either actually existent, or possible of creation, or even conceivable, which would be qualified and competent to shape and control the fiscal policy of the country. Any insertion of the word "advisory" in connection with the tariff board they demand is regarded as camouflage; that the membership of the board should, of course, be determined chiefly by them is a matter of fundamental principle, firmly established in their reactionary minds.

At the Twentieth Annual Conference of the British Labor Party

(From our own correspondent)

Scarsborough, England, June 25.
REMARKABLE success has crowned the 20th annual conference of the British Labor Party, concluded today here, one of our most beautiful watering-places.

Olympia, the largest hall in the place, has been crowded all the week with delegates representing every section of the workers in all quarters of the land. In addition to the 1,200 men and women selected for this purpose there have been hundreds of deeply interested members of the general public in the great gallery and every debate has been followed with the closest attention.

What has it amounted to, this annual sitting of labor's national Parliament? It has meant many things. It has meant the defining of policies, the healing of differences, the kindling anew of enthusiasms and the hastening of the day when labor will have her chance of governing Britain.

Foremost in my impression I must place the extremely high level to which several of the debates attained. Labor has many fine speakers in Britain and they have never done better. If one had only more men in the House of Commons — we have now 60 — better official machinery and the money with which to provide and equip a more adequate staff, so that the burden did not fall too heavily on the few, and members of the House of Commons had more leisure to amass information, the power of Labor could be increased in the country ten fold. This conference has demonstrated more clearly than any of its predecessors that the ability is there; it wants only the opportunity to do its work as well as that work might be done.

The presidential address of W. H. Hutchison, of the Engineers, was a fine deliverance. He gave a straight lead against the continuance of the war with Russia in these notable words:

"There is no need to be in full sympathy with the policy and outlead of Russian Bolshevism in order to feel that the struggle of the Soviet Government against capitalist reaction, both within and without, is of immense moment for the workers of the world over.

"The best argument of British Labor to support Russia is the fact that all the world forces of capitalism and all the capitalist governments have shown their determination to compass its overthrow by every means in their power."

Ireland has loomed largely in the discussions and Hutchison did not avoid this difficult issue. "In that country," he reminded us, "with a brutality only equalled by our folly,

we are playing out the tragic farce which couples high-sounding phrases about self-government and a peaceful settlement with the naked coercion of a purely military rule. I, for one, do not want a British Empire on these terms.

"I welcome the Empire in so far as it is a commonwealth of free nations bound together by ties of bland and gentle co-operation; but for an Empire held together by force I have no use and British Labor is not prepared to stir a finger for its maintenance. Ireland must have the form of government which she desires. If it be an independent and separate republic can Labor deny her that right? No! If rightly handled, I believe she would prefer an absolutely self-governing status within the Empire."

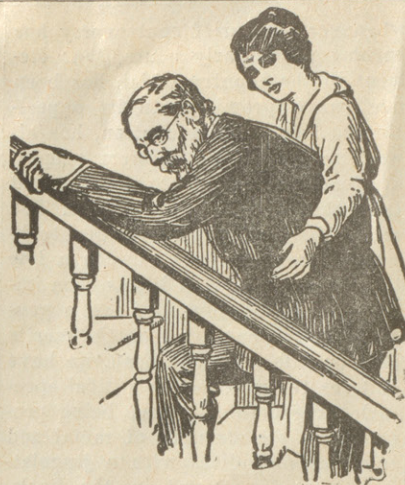
An important step forward in the direction of efficiency was taken when the conference agreed, with very little discussion, to increase affiliation fees for the societies of the party from 4c. to 6c. per member. This will permit a comprehensive scheme of organization long contemplated. The country is to be divided into eight areas, each with its divisional head, so that the constituencies may be much more efficiently worked.

There was an instructive debate on Wednesday on the Peace Treaties, which were generally condemned as impracticable and unfair. It was decided to interview the Premier and urge the lifting of the blockade against Russia and the renewal of trade activities. The Conference was strengthened in the attitude it took by a telegram from Labor's delegates now in Russia, hoping that all sections would work for the prevention of British assistance to Poland and help to restore peace and commercial relations.

Tom Shaw, one of our textile men, who has just been to Russia, declared that Poland was waging a war which could not succeed and was infected with the war fever to a worse degree than ever was Potsdam in its heyday.

There was a proposal from the British Socialist Party for a general strike to enforce Labor's policy in these regards, but conference preferred not to go to this length, although Robert Smillie, the Miners' leader, hinted that it may have to be resorted to before we are through.

J. H. Thomas, the railwaymen's secretary, has worthily upheld the banner of his organization. His executives have been severely handled by some of the left wing Socialists because, having given instructions to boycott munitions intended for Poland, they withdrew the ban.



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Thomas made a pale explanation, which the conference conservatively accepted. A number of railwaymen refused to carry certain officers because their baggage was labelled "Esthonia" and the union was faced by the possibility of a strike because the company threatened to dismiss these men. Thomas said quite fairly that a strike of this magnitude would be a terrible responsibility which should not be undertaken by one union alone. If it was wrong to carry munitions, it was wrong for engineers to work overtime making them and for miners to dig coal for the foundry furnaces. The railwaymen said to the Labor movement as a whole "we will take our share and our burden, but we will not be made the Cinderella for any dispute which any Tom, Dick or Harry liked to advocate."

A further opportunity to place the railwaymen's views before the conference came yesterday, when the Irish debate took place. Tho-

mas supported an amendment in favor of a constituent assembly to deal with Irish affairs and offered a very grave warning. He reminded the conference that what happened in Ireland would be influenced very largely by the decision taken in that gathering and urged delegates to most serious consideration of the problem. Thomas believes that if the Government would trust the British and Irish Labor movements to find a way out of the impasse they will find it and to this end he has asked Premier Lloyd George to send no more troops or munitions over from here until such a meeting has taken place. The Premier scouts the idea of a truce and there is not the least likelihood of its taking place.

The delegates declared against an Irish republic, but in favor of a Parliament for Ireland.

Conference has expressed itself clearly once more in favor of self-determination for India and Egypt and eloquent orations were made by native speakers. The Amritsar incident has been emphatically condemned and the recall of the Viceroy of India demanded.

There have been a few regrets about the week. These have been due to the absence through illness of some of the best men in the movement, including Arthur Henderson, Will Thorne and W. Adamson. Henderson is recovering from his operation for gastric trouble, but will be in a nursing home for some weeks yet. So great is his devotion to the party of which he has been secretary for many years that he has had reports of the conference sent to his sick room.

From every point of view this has been the most notable conference Labor has ever held in Great Britain.

Ethelbert Pogson.



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Gazette Had Tramways Decision Before Conciliation Board Opened Deliberations

Before the deliberations of the Conciliation Board in the matter of the dispute between the Montreal Tramways Company and its employees had even commenced, the Montreal Gazette published a review of the situation which practically amounted to a pre-judgment of the case.

The Gazette story, a letter sent to the Gazette by Mr. J. A. Woodward (commissioner representing the tramway workers), and a subsequent report in the Montreal Daily Star, are herewith reproduced:—

(Gazette, July 12).

TRAMWAYS MATTERS COME TO HEAD SOON

Board of Conciliation Has Completed Work—Report This Week.

DIVISION OF OPINION

Majority and Minority Reports Will Doubtless be Made—Possibilities of Trouble.

After an exhaustive study of tramways matters, costs of living and wage questions generally, the Board of Conciliation, sitting under the Lemieux Act to deal with the dispute as to wages between the Montreal Tramways Company and its employees, has completed its work, and it is expected the report will be rendered early this week and forwarded to Hon. Gideon Robertson, Minister of Labor.

The three members of the Board of Conciliation are Judge Archambault, of the Circuit Court, chairman, E. W. Villeneuve, representing the company and J. A. Woodward, a railwayman and president of the 5th Sunday Meeting Association representing its employees. The case for the company was laid before the Board by E. A. Robert, president, of the company; Col. J. E. Hutcheson, general manager, and Hon. J. L. Perron, K.C., the company's counsel. The employees were represented by Magnus Sinclair, the international officer in Canada of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway employees, of which the local union is a part; Aurèle Lacombe, M.L.A., president of bonnière, secretary-treasurer.

In all likelihood there will be two reports sent to the Minister, a majority and a minority report, the latter from Mr. Woodward.

Difference of Opinion

While the sittings of the Board of Conciliation were generally harmonious, it was apparent that on the main issue there was a sharp divergency of opinion, and this will doubtless be reflected in the reports submitted to the Minister. J. F. Saint-Cyr, chairman of the Montreal Tramways Commission, also appeared before the Conciliation Board, his Commission being the one which permits or refuses increases in fares, and consequently is in reality the deciding factor in the situation. Mr. Saint-Cyr made it clear at the beginning of negotiations that, the

Commission would refuse to increase fares, and maintained that attitude before the Conciliation Board, and as there are no funds for higher salaries unless there are higher fares the Conciliation Board report would naturally be affected thereby. The men are now receiving 48 cents an hour, first class men, and are asking 75 cents for the same class of men, though they would be willing to accept much less, but an offer of 50 cents an hour would hardly please them, and it is not believed that the majority report would go further than that, hence the prospects of trouble loom rather darkly.

The attitude taken by the Tramways Commission and the demands of the men may also mean that the report sent to the Minister may refer to another avenue of revenue to the company from which to pay increases, and this would be at the expense of the City of Montreal. Under the contract the city is paid \$500,000 per year for the use of the streets. This amount would provide a substantial increase to the employees, and under the pressure of a strike, or to prevent the continuation of a strike, it would be quite probable that the city would be approached to relinquish this revenue. There would have to be an amendment to the contract by the Legislature before this could be legally done, as the contract was approved by the Legislature and forms part of the City of Montreal Bill.

Events, it is expected, will move rapidly now in regard to the whole street railway question, for with the report of the Conciliation Board before the Minister this week whatever action is taken on it is bound to come quickly.

MR. WOODWARD'S LETTER

316 Lagachetière St., West,
July 12, 1920.

To the Editor of the Gazette,
St. Antoine St., Montreal.

Dear Sir:—

In the Gazette of today's issue (July 12) it is stated in a lengthy review on the Board of Conciliation concerned with the dispute between the Montreal Tramways Company and its employees, that "in all likelihood there will be two reports sent to the Minister (of Labor), a majority and a minority report, the latter from Mr. Woodward".

It is also stated that "it was apparent that on the main issues there

was a sharp divergency of opinion, and this will doubtless be reflected in the reports submitted to the Minister."

In the heading the following words are used: "Division of opinion. Majority and minority reports will doubtless be made. Possibilities of trouble."

These and other remarks in the Gazette report are purely speculative, and there is no justification whatever for their publication.

There has as yet been no discussion of the form that the reports of the commission may take, and the deliberations thereon will not be commenced until some time this week. There has been no sharp divergency of opinion on the main issues, for the reason that no opinions of any sort have been expressed by the commissioners. Up to the present the members of the Board have been exclusively occupied with the hearing of testimony and the examination of witnesses. Not even in the private conversations of the commissioners has there been any talk that might be construed into reason for speculations such as are made in the Gazette report.

As erroneous speculation of the kind is prejudicial to the case before the Board, on which I have the honor to represent the employees, I would ask you to publish this letter in to-morrow's Gazette, to counteract as much as possible the effect of the report referred to.

The official report of the Board will be given to the newspapers in due course; in the meantime speculative stories paraded as news merely put the whole matter in false

lights before the citizens, who are entitled to something more substantial in such a serious affair.

Yours faithfully,

J. A. WESTWARD,

Representative of employees on Board of Conciliation.

(Star, July 12)

HARMONY IN WAGE

DISPUTE BOARD

J. A. Woodward Says Talk of Minority Report is Rubbish.

Characterization of a report which appeared in a morning newspaper to the effect that majority and minority reports of the Board of Conciliation appointed to deal with the wages dispute between the Montreal Tramways Company and its employees would likely be forwarded to Ottawa, as being utterly without foundation was made to The Star today, by J. A. Woodward, representative of the employees on the board.

"There is no question of a majority and minority report, as the board will not begin to consider the evidence laid before it until this afternoon, and our deliberations may last a week before a report is made to the Minister of Labor at Ottawa, so that the report which appeared in a morning newspaper today is so much rubbish," declared Mr. Woodward.

"The sittings of the board have been of a most harmonious nature all the way through," added the labor representative, "and we are now going to get together to endeavor to reach a settlement. I hope we will be able to agree, and I am certainly doing my best and I hope the other members will do theirs."



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But That's Different

THE busiest letter-to-the-editor writer in Canada, Mr. Bernard Rose, a Montreal lawyer, has solved many public questions to his own satisfaction. His latest solution, in a letter to the Gazette, concerns the refusal of several British trade unions to allow the employment of ex-service men, under certain conditions. Mr. Rose does not specify the conditions, if, indeed, he knows them at all; he merely sees the fact that ex-service men have been refused work in particular closed trades, and that is enough to set him out with a wild whoop after the scalps of trade unionists generally. He seems to foresee the terrible condition in Great Britain being developed by Canadian trade unionists.

The subject is about two years old in Great Britain and it is like flogging a dead horse to get any real show of interest in it there. It has been examined and cross-examined and double cross-examined, and nothing has come of it. Apart from a few gentlemen who ride to hounds and spend most of the rest of their time in nicely-upholstered clubs, and who have inherited intense prejudices against trade unionists or others in any way likely to disturb their leisure and their vanity, there is hardly anybody bothering much about it.

The precise conditions of the affair are not of particular interest here, but it should have seemed obvious, even to those unacquainted with the conditions, that British trade unionists would be, if anything, generous and fair to ex-service men as a general thing, and that if there were cases of what appeared on the face of them to be generous and unfair things, there must have been important underlying causes. Probably at least two million ex-service men have been re-absorbed into the ranks of British trade unionism; what of that?

Let us bring the case to Canada, where Mr. Rose fears it may arise. He is rather lonely in his fear, but let that pass. Mr. Rose belongs to the most powerful trade union in the country, the lawyering business, which is operated on closed shop principles

which arbitrarily fixes its rates of payment and conditions of work, and even has the authority of the law for its etiquette. In his present mood about the tyranny and exclusiveness of trade unions, would Mr. Rose welcome several hundred ex-service men into his own union? Would he get up at one of his union meetings and move that the lot be initiated without further ado? And if the lawyers' union would not admit them right off the bat would Mr. Rose write long letters to the editors protesting against the tyranny and exclusiveness of his own union in regard to the employment of ex-service men?

(If Mr. Rose would like to answer this, would he please keep his production within somewhat similar length, as his tendency is to use up more space with his letters than the Railroader could afford to give.)

W. C.

Business Insurance

SOME years ago an American economist declared that on the appearance of symptoms foreshadowing industrial depression the public authorities should begin increasing expenditure on public improvements, and thus give business a new impulse. A comparatively small sum — if I remember right 25 or 50 cents per capita — spent at strategic points would, he argued, arrest the tendency to depression, and restore that confidence necessary to give the wheels of industry new momentum.

Britain now insures its workers against unemployment. Why not extend this policy and insure the employer, the business man, against overproduction or underconsumption, depression and panics — which lead directly to unemployment. One scheme of insurance is the logical complement of the other. Better for the State to expend \$50,000,000 on public improvements than a tithe of that amount maintaining men in idleness, public improvements add to the comfort and convenience of the people, and often render possible the creation of new industries while the money spent on them goes on circulating, giving new life to a multitude of businesses.

Canada has developed a very elaborate system of statistics. We ought to be able to determine our industrial requirements for a year or more ahead at any rate. But neither our politicians nor business men have made an adequate use of these statistics collected so industriously; certainly they do not make us of them to consciously plan for the future. Whatever ability it employs, big business and little business is lacking in foresight; not only in the broader vision which estimates the probable effects of probable changes in technique, but in preparation for conditions which might naturally be expected to develop in the course of a year or two.

Last year many coal mines in Nova Scotia were closed down or operating on short time, while thousands of miners returned from the war were vainly asking for employment. In the United States, in spite of high prices, few mines were worked to capacity. And the other day a prominent coal distributor in Montreal was declaring that the only way to catch up with the coal shortage was for all the industrial plants in the country to shut down for a week.

Why did the Nova Scotia coal mining companies fail to respond to the general demand for increased production? One reason they gave was that it was difficult to get ships to carry coal up the St. Lawrence, and more difficult to get cars to move coal to the interior. But that of itself was not an adequate reason for not banking coal against the possibility of a release of shipping for the coal trade. Another, and probably a very influential reason, was their feeling of uncertainty about the future. When the Government was urging increased production it should have been prepared to guarantee to insure the coal companies against any possible loss they might have incurred through maintaining a normal production, or increasing production. By so doing the Government would become a partner in the industry, and might logically claim to exercise some control over prices. In this case it would have assumed no risk of loss, but its responsibility would have given it a direct interest in solving the problem of transportation, and if an abundant coal supply had not been assured the shortage would have been less serious than it appears to be.

What the politician does not always see is that the Government thrift or parsimony does not always spell public economy. It may be far from the best policy for the Government to practice retrenchment at a time when most of the industries of the nations are suffering from inadequate coal production and transportation facilities.

Colin McKay.

Following Them Up

THE article in last week's Railroader which dealt with the plague-spot near St. Lambert has centred a good deal of attention on the subject. The Railroader promised that, failing official enquiry, it would make an enquiry on its own account in order that something might be done towards remedy-

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ing the dreadful conditions under which it was shown human beings had to exist. The Railroader has since brought the matter to the attention of mayor and aldermen of St. Lambert and to the chairman of the Superior Board of Health, the provincial department for supervising the health of the municipalities, and it is hoped that something may come of this. While awaiting action on the part of the authorities, the Railroader has been collecting some detailed information which confirms, and in some respects intensifies, the horror of the original story.

With regard to the Railroader's enquiry as to who Mr. Roussy de Salles is, and why he has been appointed chairman of the Board of Censor of Motion Pictures for the Province of Quebec, the Railroader, finding that no information has been volunteered, has written to the Attorney-General of the Province for information.

K. C.

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Our OTTAWA LETTER

(From Our Own Correspondent)

The New Premier And The Chances Of The Shuffle.

CHANGES are lightsome, runs the proverb, and therefore the Canadian people should today be glad of heart. Within the space of a single week they have been provided with a new party, a new political programme, and now, lastly, a new Premier in the person of the Hon. Arthur Meighen. It was on July 7th that his selection was first officially announced but Sir Robert closed his career in characteristic fashion by hanging on for three days and did not hand over the reins of office till July 10th.

Almost needless to say, the new Premier was not chosen without the usual measure of intrigue and wire-pulling inseparable from such an event in Canada. The captains and the kings of finance thronged the Chateau Laurier and all the Coalition wiseacres and bogybodies were on the scene. If the true story of events between the end of the caucus on July 1st and the final decision could be told, it would be entrancing reading, but there will undoubtedly be as many versions as there were participants in the drama.

However, certain facts emerge as more or less clear. A prepondering volume of the support of the M.P.'s and Senators as disclosed in their confidential letters was found to have fallen to Mr. Meighen. But apparently this curious method of election was devised to secure an opportunity of shelving him. There has for some time been little love between himself and other members of the Cabinet. Mr. Calder has memories of ancient feuds in the West, Mr. Doherty was displeased at the Hon. Arthur's granting an inquiry into the Guelph Novitiate business, and Mr. Ballantyne dislikes many people on principle. Dr. Reid was not friendly.

So, Messrs. Calder, Reid and Ballantyne apparently constituted themselves into a sort of committee of public safety and acted together. It was decided that Sir Thomas White must be brought back to fill the vacant throne and induced to listen to the call of his country. Sir Robert apparently apprised the Governor-General of this decision, for on the night of the 6th, Col. Henderson, the Military Secretary,

left for Toronto to bring back Sir Thomas.

But the latter has a certain shrewdness in his composition, and is very comfortable in his native world of high finance. He has studied the by-elections and he likes to be with the big battalions. So before leaving Toronto on July 7th he issued a statement to the effect that he was only proceeding to Ottawa as a loyal Privy Councillor to lend his advice, that reasons of health and the state of his private affairs alike precluded him from reconsidering his decision to abjure politics and under no circumstances could he be a candidate for the Premiership.

The publication of this statement caused great gloom in the Calder-Ballantyne camp and high jubilation among the supporters of Mr. Meighen.

When Sir Thomas arrived in Ottawa the anti-Meighenites brought great pressure on him to change his mind, but he never wavered. There is no doubt that he was offered the Premiership, and it will add another eubit to his vanity that he is the only man who ever refused the First Ministry of Canada.

With his elimination the prospects of Mr. Meighen materially improved. His enemies had made the mistake of concentrating upon Sir Thomas White and making it a two-man fight before they had any real assurance that he would accept. They apparently tried to press the claims of Sir H. Drayton, but he was lacking in the necessary parliamentary and administrative experience, and had little support among the rank and file. Sir George Foster is stricken with years and was unwilling to be a competitor. Mr. Calder was unthinkable as Premier of Canada, and Mr. Rowell lacks friends.

So Mr. Meighen it had to be, and on Wednesday morning he was informed by Sir Robert that he would recommend his name to the Governor-General, to undertake the task of forming a new Cabinet.

Mr. Meighen by this time was in a somewhat gloomy mood and was diffident about accepting. The statement issued by Sir Thomas had made

it plain that he was only the second choice, and he was well aware that three or four of his colleagues had been busy as beavers in a campaign to shut him out from the prize. He had no guarantees that they would accept him as Premier and he must in his inmost heart have dreaded the prospect of handling the present delicate political situation with colleagues he can never thoroughly trust. Therefore he asked for several hours to consider the offer and did not definitely accept till late on the evening of the 7th. It was then also announced that Mr. Rowell would leave the Government for private life and that Mr. Martin Burrell, the pleasant victor of so many bridge and golf tournaments, would slide off into the comfortable chair of the parliamentary librarian but that the undivided support of the other Ministers could be relied on by the new Premier.

The Hon. Arthur Meighen was born on June 16th, 1876, at Anderson, Blanchard Township, in the County of Perth, Ontario. His parents Joseph and Mary Meighen were of Ulster Protestant stock, his father being a farmer in the district. He was educated at the local schools, St. Mary's Collegiate Institute and Toronto University, where he took his B. A. degree in 1896. For a few years he followed the profession of teaching, but as stepping stone to the legal profession.

He took Horace Greeley's advice and went west at the beginning of this century. After serving an apprenticeship with a leading law firm in Winnipeg, he was called to the Manitoba Bar, and in 1903 settled down to practice in Portage La Prairie, a small but old established town seventy miles west of Winnipeg.

Before he had time to establish a large practice, however, politics claimed him. He was nominated as Conservative candidate for the division of Portage La Prairie, for which he still sits, and carried it after a hard fight in 1908. He soon made his mark in the House as his party, then in opposition, was sad-

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In his opposition days he showed a strong strain of independence and advocated causes which the elders of the party frowned upon. He was dubious as to the wisdom of opposing the reciprocity treaty in 1911, but lined up with his party and was returned in 1911. By this time his reputation was well established and he was marked for promotion, which came in 1913 when he was appointed Solicitor-General, though not admitted to the Cabinet. This advancement came two years later and was well deserved, for he was a willing worker and proved himself a most useful assistant to the hard-driven Premier.

He was put in charge of a series of difficult pieces of legislation and earned the reputation of being the best apologist for governmental crimes or errors. When Sir Robert decided to form a Coalition in 1917 Mr. Meighen at first opposed the idea, but eventually was converted, and the re-organization of the Cabinet found him with the Ministry of the Interior, recognized as one of the most important Cabinet offices.

For the last three years no Minister has carried so heavy a burden, and in addition to heavy ad-

ministrative and parliamentary duties, he is one of the few Ministers who have ventured to expound the Government's case in the country. He has, therefore, thoroughly earned his title to the Premiership, and if he had been passed over after Sir T. White's refusal his party would have revolted.

Mr. Meighen, despite his comparative youth, brings ample political experience to his new and arduous duties, and he will have ample need of it. He has also no small measure of political courage and capacity and is a parliamentarian and a debater of a high order. He is hard-working and painstaking, and is quick to grasp the core of a problem and reach out for a solution. He is a first-rate political advocate. For the role of the leader of the more reactionary party in this country he has most of the necessary qualities and is the best possible choice for their purposes.

The new Premier also has some grave defects from the point of view of a party leader. In private life he is a likeable person and has a capacity for attracting extreme devotion among those who enjoy the intimacy of his acquaintance. But in public he deals all too free-

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ly in asperities and likes to be regarded as a master of flouts and jeers. He will turn his batteries at a moment's notice upon some poor back bencher and assail his argument with the same contemptuous ferocity as he would apply to Mr. King.

Some of his remarks and repartees are clever and amusing but others are not always in the best of taste. Last session he referred to Mr. William Duff as "He of Lunenburg", and it was generally agreed that the jibe was both pointless and unbecoming in a Minister.

But the chief dangers of a bitter tongue in a party leader are that every epigram may make an enemy, and Mr. Meighen is not likely to be regarded with affection by his political opponents. Yet Canadian politics of the next decade are bound to demand a large measure of compromise and see the formation of alliances. Mr. Meighen after the next election may not have a conservative majority at his back for another 20 years. The history of Australia shows that once the Tory Party lost its hold it never regained its power as a national force. Yet unless Mr. Meighen curbs his bitter tongue he may soon come to make impossible any prospect of alliances for his party with other groups under his leadership. Already it is plain that there is no hope of re-inforcements from Quebec for his government.

Mr. Meighen also suffers from another deficiency. He has carried a very heavy load of work in the last six weeks and been deeply immersed in the routine business of politics and administration. He shows no signs in his speeches of having devoted any time to a study of the new economic theories and ideals which have obtained a firm foothold in every country. He probably is unaware that responsible people have thrown doubts upon the merits of the "greater production" doctrine and he would reject as impossible the contention that capitalist sabotage is as prevalent as any other kind. His experience of foreign politics and international affairs is very limited. But in some respects he is not a normal conservative. He is a Tory of the Lord Milner School, which derives descent from Bismarck. He exalts the power and virtue of the state at the expense of the individual; he would allow it probably to enter into activities which would shock directors of the Bank of Montreal, as witness his advocacy of the nationalization of the Grand Trunk, and at the same time he would use its strength to suppress manifestations of democratic discontent.

Like many other men who had a hard struggle in early life, he has scant belief in equality of human values, and he makes no secret of his distrust of democracy as an efficient instrument of government. But on the other hand, in social practice, he is more truly democratic. He hates fuss and feathers and eschews as many social functions as

possible; his home life is quiet and unpretentious and he does not even keep a motor car. His party will gladly take him to their bosom and will call him thrice blessed if he procures for them two more years of the now lucrative indemnities. In his party relations Mr. Meighen will have one handicap; he does not suffer fools gladly and in association with his followers gladness will be his infrequent lot for folly is abundant in their ranks.

Meanwhile the new Premier is engaged in the sport of Cabinetmaking and the fruits of his labors will be announced this week. Mr. Ballantyne who a few days ago was semi-publicly proclaiming that Mr. Meighen was impossible as Premier, has made a martyr of himself and remains in the Department of Marine and Fisheries. But political cynism reaches its depths in Mr. J. A. Calder. He was a moving spirit in the plans which foiled Mr. Meighen of the Premiership last December and during the recent crisis worked with all the great assiduity of which he is capable to find some alternative Premier. But now without a moment's hesitation he cheerfully takes office under the man against whom he was a few days ago intriguing and will stay with him to the bitter end.

Mr. Rowell behaved in a dignified fashion about his resignation, and in large degree rehabilitated himself. He had every inducement to stay and heavy pressure was brought to bear upon him, but he had evidently made up his mind that the New National Liberal and Conservative party was destined to be the party of reaction and had no mind to throw in his lot with it. Mr. Rowell is one of the tragedies of four politics. During his tenure of office he often exasperated progressive opinion by his methods and speeches and seemed to have become completely infected with the Toryism of his environment. Now that he is removed from it, the liberalism of his earlier days may take fresh root and flourish.

For the time being, veterans like Sir George Foster and Mr. Doherty will remain in office, but their re-entrance may be expected within the next year. Two new Ministers from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick will probably be the only recruits to the Cabinet, and they will probably be Mr. Wigmore and McCurdy, neither of whom are likely to bring any real strength.

A miniature general election must be held covering at least five seats. East Elgin is vacant by death and Mr. Burnham has vacated one of the Peterboro seats. The new Ministers must go before their electors, and Mr. Burrell's seat must be filled. If these elections go against the Government, an appeal to the country is inevitable. In any case, it should take place. We have now a new Premier, a new party and a new political programme, and the country should be allowed an opportunity of expressing its opinion upon them.

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Labor Movement Psychology

(By Frank Tannenbaum in the New Republic)

He who would know the labor movement, its discontent and idealism, its hatred and love, its bitterness and enthusiasm must strive to understand its psychology. Without such understanding it is not possible to appreciate the true character or real significance of its power over the lives of those who are part of it. The psychology of the labor movement, like that of any other group activity, is complex and overlapping in motives, interests and ideals. In addition to the psychical factors characteristic of all group behavior, such as imitation, emulation, the craving for conspicuousness, leadership and personal expression, organized labor exhibits a few very specific features without which it would not be the vital force in the world that it is.

The modern wage worker is without property. He is a wanderer, a nomad. He has no hold upon the world excepting such hold as his job may imply—and that is a very precarious and doubtful one. He belongs to no place in particular—excepting where he happens to be paying rent or board. He has no deep roots in the ground. He shifts from job to job, from factory to factory, from city to city, from state to state and frequently from country to country. He either loses his job or tires of it. It becomes monotonous, irksome, unbearable. Other horizons—horizons seen through a newspaper advertisement, a tale told and heard or just a guess, a whim, a hope, an expectation—anything is sufficient reason for a man chasing his own soul to safety. So he wanders. To wander is the opposite in its implication to being rooted to a place, a home.

Just as to the stabilized farmer all things having a sense of perma-

nence so for the worker all things are transitory. The wanderer's self is not involved. His personality is not concerned. All things he does are things of the moment. They involve nothing that is vital or basic. He is primarily shifting after better things, after the security of a home, after more congenial surroundings. He does not build. He cannot do so. In many cases he has lost the sense of home making. Where he still possesses the desire and the hope he dare not and cannot. He dare not because the shifting job upset all his plans and bring to naught all his labors—he cannot because he lacks the instruments, the time, the place and the means. The creative personal achievement is foreign to his experience. Neither the interest of work, the boastfulness of a job well done, the satisfaction of having carried a self-made plan into execution, nor the joy of success, neither play nor art, neither love nor pride enter into his work. He is a cog, a tool, an instrument. The industrial revolution has torn the worker from his moorings and set his body adrift. But a drifting body tends to carry with it a restless mind. The search after a physical hold that will be permanent is made the harder by the growth of a mind that knows nothing of the conserving constructive experience which is the heritage of people who own their own land.

The basic difference between the present day worker and the peasant and serf of the past is the difference between stability and instability, between security and insecurity, between regularity and irregularity. The common round of tasks which filled the lives of the peasant from day to day and year to year has no existence for the mass of wage earners. Life for the wage earners is

more hazardous, existence more precarious, their work and habits more unsettled and change more constant; all of these have their influence upon the mind of the workers. Even the stadiest temper, the most phlegmatic and least adventurous individual is always on the verge of being set adrift. Being set adrift tends to have the same general consequence temperamentally for most people—the gradual acquisition of "casual labor" psychology. So many workers are drifting constantly, so many others have their regular habits and customary existence undetermined by unemployment and lay-offs that even those who remain stationary are infected with the restlessness characteristic of the less stable.

Not all workers are actually drifting. Some remain in the same firm for a lifetime—but they are very few in comparison to those who do not. Even those who prove themselves sufficiently well rooted to stay and fulfill their allotted calling in the same small round of daily coming and going—even these are never certain of the day when this security will terminate. If there were no other element of danger excepting the competitive shifting market; the adventure of ordinary business is sufficient in itself to give the sense of insecurity to the most happily placed workers. This irregularity of employment means for the worker irregularity of income and that has its influence upon health, upon nourishment, upon overcrowding, upon bad humor. It contributes to aggravating the disgust with the workings of the world as they affect the daily lives and well being of the workers.

A qualification similar to that made about the insecurity of the worker applies to his non-possession of property. It is not true that all

workers are absolutely without property. Some workers own their own homes, others have small accounts in the savings bank and a few have stocks and bonds. It must, however, be remembered that the ownership of stocks and bonds or the possession of money in the bank does not provide the means of activity and joyful enterprise involved in the ownership of tangible property such as a farmer experiences. These newer tangible possessions which the worker does upon occasion share, do not provide the means for constant concern to his vital and personal experience—they do not make of themselves for the development of stability nor for keeping the worker anchored to a home nor do they become the basis of a permanent mooring for the drifter—they do not, generally speaking, give him a material control over his destiny.

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ty for the individual and for society as a whole it means constant friction, constant danger, constant upsetting of old standards and the increasing difficulty of creating new ones. The older agricultural economy which the industrial revolution upset, was one that lent itself to the growth of custom, habit and tradition. Order, regularity, system and repetition of the tasks of yesterday were the prevailing forces in the world before the machine tore mankind from its traditional mode of life and labor. For thousands of years men lived lives defined by custom and made familiar by habit. The weight of centuries of traditional method was involved in each task done and in plans made. A hundred centuries of routine dominated social organization. Men felt safe and comfortable in the knowledge and sureness of previous procedure. Men accepted the world they lived in with but little questioning. Doubt — the doubt of the wisdom and propriety of the manner in which things were done was not so keen, so widespread and so distinct an aspect of the world in which men found themselves. Mental discomfort was at its minimum. All this has been changed. The premium, instead of being on the traditional, has been transferred to the novel. New things, new ways, new methods, new explanations, new procedure are the demands and the expectations that fill our daily lives. Ours is above all a dynamic age — and it is dynamic not only in terms of new mechanical processes but in terms of new relationships, which these new processes enforce upon society. All of these forces compel a revaluation of accepted values and contribute both to the agitation of the mind and the discomfort of the body.

To this fact of change and irresponsibility there is to be added another's life, his keener, more vivid and more constant sense of insufficiency. The industrial revolution among its many other contributions to our working order has added a peculiar paradox, a paradox which involved the approximate equalization of the imagination of men at the very time when it increased inequality of possession. Men are both more equal and more unequal than ever before in the history of the world. They are more equal as men and less as possessors of material wealth. The imagination, the background of basic information, the sense of values, of needs and of qualitative understanding is more nearly on a level than ever before. At the same time, however, ownership is less equally divided. Men desire more because they know more; but they satisfy these desires less, comparatively, than when their needs were more limited.

The inequality of wealth is extraordinary. A single illustration will do. Nine-tenths of the wealth in Great Britain is possessed by less than one-tenth of the population. This is a striking fact, one that the annals of English history cannot

duplicate. What is true of England is true in a less degree of the United States. Never in the world has the poverty of the migratory worker on the one hand and the riches of the multi-millionaire on the other existed side by side. Poverty is comparative. Absolute poverty is rare. A beggar is infinitely richer than he who owns no thing. The beggar generally possesses a torn suit of clothing and a leaky pair of shoes. The peasant in the France of Louis XIV was richer relatively than is the modern migratory worker; richer at least in the possession of security.

The full significance of this inequality comes from its opposite — the greater imaginative equality that has accompanied this cumulative differentiation in worldly goods. The millionaire and the beggar both read the New York Times. The beggar feels and is more like the millionaire than the peasant ever was like the noble. They see the same "movies," read the same magazines, are thrilled by the same daily occurrences and show the same intelligence, on an average, in their judgment of world important facts in which they are often equally interested. There is no qualitative differentiation. The difference is one of gold and that is not spiritual. It is a difference of degree and not of kind. The workers are conscious of their equality. It only makes the difference one that rankles because it is obvious, because it limits the powers of satisfying a stimulated imagination and the demands this imagination makes of the world.

That equality that I am speaking of is different from that equality before the law, or from that implied in the equal rights to hold property, to travel or even the equal right in the pursuit of happiness. It is a greater social and spiritual equality. It manifests itself in the similarity of clothing, dress, home and amusement, in education, reading matter, customs, political ties and social habits. It is an approximation of equality in all things excepting money — and it makes that one variant very conspicuous. The separation between man and man has become more objectionable just because it has been so simplified. It makes the worker's life obviously incomplete — his insufficiencies more conscious and his blame more immediate. This has made the desire for an adjustment more vivid. I am not implying that the individual variation has been eliminated. If anything, that has probably been increased. The differences between the classes has been diminished in most respects excepting that of possession and that rankles in the mind of the worker because it is the obvious limitation upon his further growth and development. It makes for discontent, for bitterness and for the desire to change the world. The wandering temper and habit, the dynamic character of our civilization and the greater imaginative equality determine the general background for the development of the peculiar

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manifestation of the worker's psychology.

The first of these peculiar elements is his aversion, his constant and almost irrepressible disgust for the mechanical, oppressive and re-humanizing nature of the daily function. This fact cannot be over-emphasized. No reiteration is too vehement to express the hopeless feeling of loathing for the machine and the monotony that it forces upon the workers — the constant drilling of an unchanging motion, a never ending repetition that destroys all interest and kills all creative effort. This feeling of hatred is doubly strong because it is constant and for the worker infinite and without escape. It is a hatred born of instinct and not of understanding or analysis. The analysis and understanding may come later and supply the reasons for revolutionary temper and enthusiasm. But with the average worker—conservative and radical—it is an instinctive resistance against suppression of the freedom for play, for interest, for creativeness. For all men are in their own spontaneous way artists and creators and the curse of the machine is that it standardizes thought and kills it, that it standardizes emotion and destroys it, that it standardizes the artistic sense and annihilates it.

One day while doing some organizing work along the water-front I came across a typical labor group—a group of longshoremen carting heavy boxes on their little two wheel

hand carts. They were a typical labor group of America — typical because they were of all nations and of all races. In that small force of about fifty men there were Italians, Irishmen, Poles, Jews, Russians and men of other nations. In their midst stood a foreman, a big, burly feddow — he stood there with his hands in his pockets, tall, blond with a heavy voice that was harsh and snappy and all he did was to repeat without end and one single phrase, "Hurry up, hurry up, hurry up," a phrase that fell with the regularity of a clock upon the ears of the working group and at the sound of which the men bent their heads a little lower and quickened their step as if stung by a whip. Every half minute or so he repeated the same command. It was never varied, it was never changed. The words were the same, the tone and inflexion were the same. The men like whipped dogs just bent their heads a little lower at each command and made a quicker motion with their feet. Occasionally there was evident a gleam of hatred, of bitterness and of despair on the part of some of the men. But as a whole they submitted. They submitted because their submission was inevitable. It was inevitable because the single worker is helpless and these men were not organized. The water-front is characteristic of other labor centres, only, that the machine is duller and its sound harsher than the human voice. I am not imputing personal bias to the foreman. He simply represents the process of reducing the worker's activity to mechanical standards. This drive, this impetus, this drilling helps to explain a great many things in the lives of the workers. It helps to explain the hobo who will not submit, the derelict who cannot endure and breaks down, not having been made to pass through this crucible of speed, monotony, and impersonal activity. It helps to explain the lower criminal classes "the submerged tenth," that seek a life of ease and parasitism rather than submit to the machine. It helps, too, to explain the love, the passion, the bitterness and the idealism that is found in so large a measure in the labor movement. It helps to explain it, because in the labor movement the worker finds relief from monotony, opportunity for expression, place for play and individuality.

The struggle of the workers against an organized and powerful opposition culminates in "Class Consciousness." I am not here speaking of the theory of the class struggle — I am speaking of the fact as the workers know it. Hundreds and thousands of workers are class conscious without even having heard of Marx and without coming in contact with the doctrine as such. They are class conscious because the facts of their life, their struggle for existence, their desire to escape from the oppression and monotony which they see constantly opposed, make them such. They hate the present world because they have so little

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share in its control and because they are outside the sphere that participates in the manipulation of the forces dominating their lives and activities. Men who have been on strike, who have been clubbed by the police, who have been driven by the militia and who have been persecuted know something about the facts of the class struggle even if they know little about its theories.

An element of importance that is subsidiary to instinctive opposition to the machine and the feeling of class hatred is the intellectual and critical nature of the labor movement. There is a general conviction among thoughtful workers that the present world works badly; that unemployment, poverty, ignorance, social injustice are things which intelligent control and ordinary good

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human intentions can prevent if they were the will and the desire that they be prevented. This conviction leads to the conclusion that the present system is not only bad, but is kept so by the perfidy and selfishness of the powers who are benefiting by it. It adds to the discontent of the workers the belief in the villainous character of the capitalists as a class—a conviction that adds contempt to hatred.

I cannot leave the general discussion of the psychology of the labor movement without describing the action of organized labor as it affects the centering of the worker's interests upon the problems concerning him most vitally. The psychological maladjustment of the worker makes him an easy prey to all kinds of emotional appeals. Uneducated he often is, lacking both the time and the training required to make an analysis of the evils and the forces with which he is confronted, the worker is apt to accept any easy and ready rationalization of the world and its implications. This is true in particular if it provides an escape and emotional outlet from his pent and suppressed activity. The excitement and rationalization of a Bill Sunday meeting, a Holy-Roller rantant dissipation, leaves the worker both exhausted and momentarily

relieved from the gnawing of the forces about him. In a minor degree this service is performed by dime novels, drink, base-ball scores, moving pictures and political excitement. Any rationalization, any explanation, any drawing out of interest, of emotion, of the sense of play and creative activity, mitigates the feeling of oppression produced upon the workers by their monotonous existence. Political movements achieve the same end. They mostly serve in taking the worker's attention from his immediate problems and centering them either as a rationalization or as a means of emotional dissipation in things that are not of pertinence in his daily life. It is here that the labor movement per se becomes most significant.

The labor movement provides an emotional outlet. It provides room to all the instincts. It gives play to all of the instincts and passions that are characteristic of human nature. But it does all these things in terms of the values, functions and problems with which the worker is always called upon to deal. It keeps



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the workers' mind always centered upon the core of their difficulties. It prevents distraction, loss of emotion and energy. It makes significant to the worker the things with which he deals as a member of the community and through which he acquires social significance — his work. It thus provides the means of escape from suppression and this emotional outlet becomes in itself contributory to the final solution — the problem which is the chief cause of the workers' evils — industrial autoocracy.

SIDE LINES

(By KENNEDY CRONE.)

IT is a hard thing to write about women's clothes because there is so little to write about and it grows less every day. Some of the latest blouses and skirts look as if they could be packed in a pillbox, though only a small percentage of the wearer could get into like space. It seems that the more undressed a woman is the more completely she is dressed. I think if I had calves like those of a grand piano or a bluebottle I would hesitate about exhibiting them to the world, but the women don't seem to mind what they exhibit; if it were the fashion to exhibit the toes with the corns on them, I have no doubt that they would exhibit them, and the larger and hornier the corns the better. Here's hoping that they will some day exhibit their faces instead of smudges of talcum powder!

Perhaps it would not be a bad plan if all the missionaries were brought back from China. They have made a success of preventing Chinese women from binding up and distorting their feet, and their experience might be applied to the women at home who wear pointed shoes with a stilt heel and an arch that is as unnatural as

possible. As a side-line they might make a campaign against the harness with which women jumble up their internal organs, the wonder not being that they fail to rear families but that they manage to exist at all with only three headaches and spasms of tired feeling per day.

The latest fad is to put a string of elastic around the foot of a full-blown skirt, so that the lady resembles a bag of potatoes walking on its head. If I wanted to look like a bag of potatoes, I would rather be right side up, anyway.

The High Cost of Living is largely due to the high cost of changing fashions, as worn principally by young gad-about who have sodawater in the place where brains are supposed to be, but who still have a chance of settling down after the fizz is worked off, and older gad-about who are quite hopelessly condemned to be sodawater artists, rather flat.

Sometimes I have had a notion that I would tour the Fiji Islands, Darkest Africa, the Doukhobor settlement and like places and come back with ideas for new fashions that would make a fortune amongst civilized people, but a little consideration has shown that civilization has borrowed them all already except the practice of putting a ring through the nose, which may come any day now.

I do not know what next week's fashions in beads or belts happens to be, but I would suggest a string of onions. Matched pearls are nothing to matched onions. Can you fancy the saleslady saying: "Madam, this is a perfect set; each one has precisely the same odor without a flaw in it; smell 'em!" When the new fashion comes in the following week, the onions have the advantage of being suitable for draping the interior.

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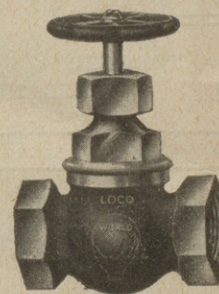
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